

Soc. in the U.S. 1858-1915
The word "Session" should be "Secession."

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THE HISTORY OF THE 1913 SESSION IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF WASHINGTON

Based on data on file in the office of the State Secretary
at this date. (January 18, 1914)

(Ordered printed by the State Convention at Seattle,
March 16, 1914.)

The intense activity displayed by the so-called "legal" Socialist Party of Washington, an activity in which calumny and falsehood form the chief meaao, forces me to gather into one story all the data available in this office, so as to give those a chance to learn the truth who care to know.

Nothing will be here related which has not at one time or another been officially before the membership as a whole or the State Committee, either in the shape of referendum, minutes of the State Executive Committee meetings, or the State Convention. It is therefore not new but it is natural that there should ha hut few members who today have an absolute and cohesiva idea of all the incidents that have been given publicity as they happened, unconnected and perhaps often insufficiently explainad.

Ramemher, that while space forbids the publication in full of all the docamaata bearing upon the fight, and makea it naceaaaary to relate the eum total impression iastead, there will be nothing here stated which is not backed by evidence, ample and sufficient, and even facts, of which the author, the State Secretary, is absolutely certain, will be eliminated, whara they are not backed by letters on file in the State office.

The story, being intended to prova the constant consistency of the attitude of the State Office and the State Executive Committee must therefore eliminate local quarrels except where such quarrels have been brought officially before the State Executive Committee for decision. That personal dislikes, slander, cupidity and trickery have aggravated the fight and in many instances ware the real cause for lining up on one side or the other is undenfable, but instead of con-tuaing the minds of the reader with enumeration of examples of sordidness and meanness, it is the intention of the writer to try to separate the duat from the battle.

The first sign of disturbance in the organization, since the memorable Titus-fight in 1909, occurred in the summer of 1911. D. C. Coates was elected to the office of city commissioner of Spokane in March, 1911. He was a member of the Party. The election was non-partisan, a fact for which Coates was to a great extent responsible, since he as one of the charter commissioners had been one of the strongest advocates of the nonpartisan feature. The Socialist vote could not have amounted to more than 25% of the vote that elected him. It was a clear and UNDISPUTED fusion. Owing to the fact that this was the first instance of nonpartisan municipal election in the state, there was a disposition on the part of the State office to not split hairs, but acting on the principle that no member of the Party could hold a public office except at the mercy of the Party, the State Secretary insisted upon the signing of the undated resignation. Three letters from the State Office, with several weeks interval between each letter, were necessary before the local secretary could be induced to answer. The answer was that Coates refused. The State Secretary thereupon made an official demand on the local to secure the signature or expel Coates. The local sent a committee of three to Coates, giving him the choice to sign or be expelled. The original letter sent by Coates to the local to answer is on file in this office and the sum total of it is that the Socialists had neither nominated nor elected him and that he therefore did not owe them anything. The local sustained Coates. In accordance with the state constitution the local was therefore expelled by a unanimous vote of the State Executive Committee. M. J. Kennedy, one of the members of the Executive Committee, who later reversed himself, sent in his vote for revocation of the local's charter, from Spokane, where he happened to be at the time, being on a lecture tour. With his vote he sent a letter to the State Secretary in which he stated that from personal observation he feels certain that the members who sustained Coates did so with a full understanding of the consequences and undoubtedly intended to deliberately violate the constitution in order to keep Coates in office. The local appealed to the State Committee in a pamphlet of 29 pages, printed by Coates and circulated by the State Office, signed by eighty-five members and alleged members. The State Committee should have consisted of one member from each local and there were then 159 locals. However, the constitution arranging for so large a State Committee had been adopted but a short time, and many locals had neglected to elect their State Committeeman. In order to get a fair expression from the Party, the State Secretary therefore called upon the locals to elect.

When the appeal was sent out there were therefore 96 members on the State Committee. Forty-two of them voted for revocation and nine against. Six affirmative votes arrived too late to be counted.

The local at once started an opposition party in Spokane and used its own stamp. The loyal comrades were organized into seven ward locals with a city committee. The local was expelled in June, 1911. About six months later the State Executive Committee passed a motion permitting all expelled members to come back with the exception of such as held office in the city. The answer was an insulting resolution stating that they spurned the Taft-like pardon offered by czar Bostrom. (The State Secretary was opposed to granting amnesty.) Coates and two other orators nevertheless appeared at the State Convention in Seattle March, 1912, and asked for a hearing. The Convention very generously granted them one hour, giving the State Secretary and one of the regular Spokane Committeemen also an hour. A vote was then taken on sustaining the 1911 State Committee, resulting in 70 for and 58 agaist.

Coates then quit his activities, stating in the capitalist press that the party was in the hands of the side-door Pullman element. His followers, however, joined the Spokane locals, where their hatred of the State Office at once began to be felt in hostile motions and endorsements of motions from Seattle and other locals inimical to the State Office. It was very evident that they were working under a preconceived and concerted plan to influence their respective locals so that they would be ready for the bolt when the word was given. This disloyal attitude naturally had the effect to keep the locals from growing and nothing was therefore gained, while much was lost, by this misplaced generosity on the part of the Party.

It was from a lot of small locals in Seattle, that a great deal of the surprising strength of the fusion sentiment exhibited in the vote on Spokane, came. In September, 1909, when the present State Secretary came into the State Office, there was not, outside of the Finnish local, one member of the Party in Seattle. Titus had expelled Walter Thomas Mills and his followers and Doctor Brown and his flock and then bolted the Party at the Everett State Convention in July, 1909. The followers of Titus made war on the Party and the others had apparently become accustomed to go it alone and were not in a hurry to come back. It was nearly three months after the Everett Convention that Local Seattle 5th Ward was organized. It began with 101 members. Five months later it had 22 paid-up members. They were 22 leaders, deserted by their rank and file. The State Secretary, a

common ordinary workingman, selected by a Party of 420 members, which could find no one else willing and able to take hold, felt somewhat diffident about advising these big men, but decided to try. He consequently wrote them a letter telling them that we had the right to expect 1,000 members in Seattle and that we could have it if these twenty-two leaders would go out and organize a local each and thus settle their disputes by separating. A few of them took the hint and inside of two years the city had twenty-six locals, with a probable membership of 700, without counting the foreign-speaking locals. While this upbuilding took place there was comparatively very little fighting going on. The fight had been transferred to the city and county committees. It is not the purpose of this story to give the details of all the petty intrigues and all the rows, factional and personal, taking place in Seattle, but to record the part played by this office in settling the disputes.

On the 16th of June, 1912, there was read before the State Executive Committee an application for recognition of county autonomy for King County in which Seattle is located. A. L. Carpenter was there to protest against such recognition on the grounds that the applicants were merely a bolting faction of the King County Committee. His written complaint stated that Local Seattle Fifth Ward had some time previously dismissed its eighteen delegates to the county committee and had elected nineteen new ones. That when these delegates came to the meeting of the county committee they found in the chair one of the recalled delegates, G. W. Scott. Scott had, with many other recalled delegates, quit the Fifth Ward Local and joined the Fourth Ward. He had been elected delegate from the Fourth Ward, but had not yet been seated and had therefore no right to the chairmanship, to which office he had been elected while serving as delegate from the Fifth Ward. As soon as the minutes of the previous meeting had been read, a motion to adjourn was carried and the meeting broke up without seating the Fifth Ward delegates. A second regular meeting was held in exactly similar manner. The Executive Committee in the meantime ruled the county. A petition was then presented to the secretary, asking for a special meeting and the secretary called it. When this meeting was called to order and the usual motion to adjourn was made, a point of order was raised to the effect that the meeting was out of order since the petition had not been signed by 20 per cent of the delegates, many of the signers being the new delegates who were not yet seated. It was pointed out in rebuttal that the secretary had called the meeting without any reference to the petition and that under the constitution the secretary had

the right to call a meeting. The chair held the meeting out of order and left the hall, accompanied by the secretary and their faction. The nineteen delegates from the Fifth Ward and the remaining members of the County Committee then proceeded to reorganize the committee. When the time came for the next regular meeting the Brown faction, as it has properly been called, met in the Labor Temple and the others in the headquarters as usual.

In view of these serious charges, the truthfulness of which was also vouched for by two members of the State Executive Committee who were members of Local Seattle, Fifth Ward, a special meeting was called two weeks later, to meet at Seattle in order to make it easy to attend. Registered letters were sent to all the forty-four locals in the county, asking every one who could give information that would help to settle the difficulty, to attend the meeting. The meeting was held in the Labor Temple, Seattle, on June 30 and no one appeared for the Brown faction. A letter was read from A. Hutchinson disputing the right of the State Executive Committee to hold the hearing and advising the committee to take a referendum of the county membership. The State Secretary read his answer, in which he pointed out that since King County was not yet autonomous there could be no county referendum and that at any rate it would be a farce to ask the membership to vote without first having the hearing and making findings. He also warned Hutchinson that absence from the meeting would be considered a confession of the weakness of his cause. The State Executive Committee then decided in favor of the faction which was present, to the extent of temporarily recognizing it as the regular organization pending a decision of the State Committee, to which the findings were presented. The State Committee by a vote of 60 to 23 made the decision permanent.

The locals of the Brown faction quietly ignored the decision. They paid their dues but did not participate in the activity of the regular organization. When the regular party of King County held a convention to nominate candidates for primary election, they stayed away. If, as they have always claimed, they were in the majority, they could by participating in this convention have nominated the full ticket. Instead they held a meeting on Sunday, September 8, at the headquarters of the Fourth Ward Local, at which meeting stickers were distributed at the door to be pasted over the regular ticket at the primary election two days later. In the presence of the State Secretary and four members of the State Executive Committee, Doctor Brown, Judge Winsor, Reverend Oscar McGill and the expelled M. J. Ken-

nedy made speeches the sum total of which was "down with the regulars, vote the sticker ticket and vote for county committeemen" so that we can get "legal" possession of the party machinery. Special stress was laid upon the injustice of shutting the Socialist voters from the management of the party and the point was made that the primary was intended to do away with machine rule in the Socialist Party as well as in the other parties.

In the primary election the regular ticket of King County defeated the Brown faction by about 1,500 to 300.

The State Secretary received instructions to prosecute the speakers at the above named meeting and the candidates on the sticker ticket in their respective locals. Owing to the utter impossibility of learning to which locals some of these candidates belonged a great many were lost track of. H. O. Fuhrberg, of the Fourteenth Ward; Dr. E. J. Brown, Geo. W. Scott and Ray La Barre, of the Fourth Ward, and Judge Winsor and George Cronk, of the Tenth Ward, were prosecuted by the State Secretary. Charlotte Jones, of Madrona Local, and N. S. Randall, of Seattle Thirteenth Ward were handled by Comrade H. M. Wells of the State Executive Committee.

In every instance the trial was a mere formality which the inefficiency of the constitution forced us to go through with. There is no doubt that every member of the locals involved had violated the national constitution by voting for candidates in the primary, who were not nominated by the regular party, and in fact by voting against the regular nominees. And these guilty members were to be the jury in the case of their leaders' trials. The formality was turned into a farce by Local Fourth Ward, which charged 10 cents admission to the trial, which admission served to either keep the regulars out of the meeting or made them pay a tribute to their enemies.

Although Fuhrberg, Scott and La Barre openly admitted their guilt their local found them not guilty. Brown tried to squirm out of it but got himself tangled up and said things besides in the meeting that would have been sufficient to condemn him. In the very beginning he disputed the right of the State Secretary to the office and when the State Secretary put it up to the local, with the statement that if the local agrees with Brown and does not recognize Bostrom as State Secretary, there was no need of going further with the trial, even the local was forced to go back on Brown and recognize the State Secretary. The reason for his peculiar claim was that his following in Seattle had voted in the primary for county committeeman and this "legal" county committee had elected him State Committeeman. A similar trick had been

played by another incipient politician by the name of Bone in Tacoma and so the state had been blessed with two lawyers who had taken upon themselves to relieve the membership of the Socialist Party of the onerous duty of handling its own affairs. Brown had elected Bone State Chairman and Bone reciprocated by electing Brown State Secretary. In his evidence he stated that he would permit the State Secretary and State Executive Committee of the red card membership to hold their offices as long as they satisfied him.

The minutes of the trials were submitted to the State Committee and the Fourteenth Ward Local was expelled by 75 votes, the Fourth Ward by 74 votes, as against 21 negative votes in both cases.

Judge Winsor made a ten-minutes speech in answer to each question and was as slippery as an eel. His main contention was that he was a free American citizen and refused to limit that freedom by submitting to any party rules.

Cronk had engaged an attorney, who stopped the trial on the grounds that since I had no other evidence than the sticker ticket, it would be up to me to prove that Cronk had permitted his name to be used on said sticker ticket; failing in which I had no right to place Cronk on the stand to give testimony against himself. The local sustained the attorney.

I appealed the case, as well as the cases of the Thirteenth Ward and Madrona, to the County Committee of King, which county in the meantime had carried out the referendum making it autonomous. The locals were expelled. Two locals quit in order to escape prosecution.

The expelled locals, together with those who voluntarily withdrew and a few who still nominally remained then organized openly and fought the regular organization throughout the campaign.

In Bellingham it became necessary to expel a local because it refused to expel a member AFTER HE HAD CONFESSED and AFTER THE LOCAL HAD FOUND HIM GUILTY of voting for and advocating the election of a Bull Moose candidate for Superior Judge. This local immediately re-organized with but small loss of membership. Another little local in Bellingham belonging entirely to Chas. Wallace had no particular grievance of its own, except that like Wallace it could not under any circumstances allow itself to be guilty of loyalty. There never was a time in the history of the party when this local did not fight the State Office. In 1907 it left the party for more than two years and in the meantime enjoyed itself by voting for Republican candidates on the Socialist ticket in 1908. I have a letter from Wallace in which he admits this offense and states that he would do it again under the same provocation. The particular objection

Wallace and his local have to the party is that it is governed by the representative system instead of by the Texas Program. The convention of 1912 good naturedly permitted Wallace to kill the time explaining this panacea for all party evil, and later on the local secured the second by five locals and made the party pay for an expensive referendum in a futile attempt to foist it on an unuepecting membership. It was too much, however, the stupidity too apparent and it was defeated by a vote of 903 to 434. Mr. Wallace then attempted to force it onto Whatcom County but the State Executive Committee held it incompatible with the State Constitution, which provides that dues stamps may be sold to the County Committees in autonomous counties. The Wallace constitution, however, did not have such a thing as a county committee in it. After the Tacoma convention, 1913, Mr. Wallace was offered the State Secretaryship of the new party, together with the privilege of trying out his perpetual motion constitution on its unlucky membership, and he greedily accepted the honor.

Although the numerical strength of the Brown faction in Tacoma was insignificant it would hardly be fair to ignore it since it made up in quality what it lacked in size. No one in Pierce County, in which Tacoma is located, had ever had any quarrel with the State Office until the primary election of 1912. The defection of local Tacoma No. 2, although it could have been expected, came as a bolt from a clear sky. It was organized as a elk stocking local, and its application for charter did not contain the name of one wage worker. The occupations of the applicants were: Three lawyers and the wife of one lawyer, one occupation not mentioned, one salesman, one optician, one bank teller, one self-employed printer, one real estate dealer, one physician, one lawyer who describes himself as a stenographer, one engineer and one manager of a shoe company. I do not mention this with the intention of casting reflection upon them for their mode of making a living but as an evidence of a desire to stay away from the common herd, since in no instance were these members driven out from other locals in Tacoma, their exile being entirely voluntary. When the county later on organized autonomously, two members of this local became members of the County Executive Committee. Two months later some of the members of this committee, including the two from Local Tacoma No. 2, secretly instructed their friends to vote for county committeemen in the primary election. After the primary these county committeemen, just like those of the other parties, met in the county court house and organized "legally" without any reference to the party constitution. The county committee (legal) elected Homer T. Bone as legal

State Committeeman for Pierce County and elected the regularly elected County Executive Committee as the legal executive committee. Since primaries are held only every two years this meant that the Executive Committee elected by the membership for a one-year term was now legally in office for two years (or until the next primary), and the party recall could not be applied.

W. C. Rave, the County Secretary, refused to recognize the legal committee, and called a meeting of the County Committee of the red card membership, which committee fired all of the legal Executive Committee except Comrade Buchanan of Local Mountainview, who had taken no part in their treachery. Charges were preferred against the others and Local Tacoma No. 1 expelled T. F. Burns, one of them. Local No. 2 upheld the two members belonging to that local and the State Convention by a vote of 113 to 10 revoked its charter a few months later. One member of this local had the nerve to send out stickers four days before election to all the locals in the state on which appeared his name as aspirant for justice of the Supreme Court.

I have mentioned in the above but a few of the most prominent incidents in this struggle. To properly utilize the thousand and one proofs of duplicity, spite, meanness and treachery on hand in this office in the shape of letters, motions and resolutions takes more time and ability than the writer has at his command. Doctor Brown, rich and capable, has been most active in the work of destruction of the organization. Posing as "legal" State Secretary he wrote every County Auditor in the state for the names of the "legally" elected county committeemen in order to enable him to persuade them that they were compelled to organize legally and elect a State Committeeman. I warned the locals and he failed. Being an extensive advertiser in the daily press, he utilized or influenced the news and editorials of all the four dailies of Seattle. The Seattle Times, perhaps the most corrupt paper in America, seemed to be absolutely at his command. In this, and even at times in the other papers, the members of the State Executive Committee were held up as anarchists, I. W. W.'s and free lovers. The same things were circulated by Brown and others in the shape of circular letters to the locals. Brown issued seven numbers of the "Political Socialist," devoted entirely to calumny and vituperation of the State Secretary and the Executive Committee and all other members who in any way had exhibited activity or loyalty. This paper was repudiated by his own following, however, few of whom cared to have their names appear in it. It earoed, and became known under the name of "The Pole Cat Socialist," and for brazen rascality nothing like it

has ever before been published. The attacks in the "Times" which appeared every other day for months, culminated in a charge for criminal libel, which charge was thrown out of court by the notorious Judge Humphries, who ordered the foreman of the jury to sign an acquittal although it was a clear case of guilt without a mitigating circumstance. The Times caused the riot in Seattle when the headquarters of the regular organization was destroyed by drunken soldiers. True, the headquarters of the Brown faction was also sacked at the same time but it happened through a mistake, since the guide furnished the rioters by the Times thought it belonged to the regular organization. The Seattle Herald, party organ of the Brown faction, was not molested although it was situated but a few hundred feet from the regular headquarters and was passed several times by the horde. Some one who had the ear of the mob was constantly on hand to protect the Herald whenever anyone proposed its sacking. When the party fought Judge Humphries for the right of free speech the Brown faction kept aloof, and when victory was won and the judge was squelched its paper frankly criticized the regulars for baiting an idiot. Every week there appears in all the four dailies either in the Sunday or Saturday edition and sometimes in both, an article of a column's length in which the world at large is told by Doctor Brown that the Socialist party of Washington is under the thumb of as great cutthroats as ever scuttled a ship. This article occupies the regular space otherwise devoted to advertising Doctor Brown's Dental Parlors, and its publication serves the double purpose of giving variety to a monotonous advertisement and thus fool the readers to look up the ad, and incidentally to injure the Party with the public. It is estimated that this costs him about ten thousand dollars a year.

Excited by the showing made in the Seattle convention of 1912, when 58 votes out of 128 were cast in favor of reinstating Spokane, the Brown faction built great hopes on the Tacoma convention of 1913. A headquarters was established across the street from the convention hall, at which place a typewriter and mimeograph was kept busy by the implacable enemy of the Socialist Party, D. Burgess, and bulletins were issued several times a day ridiculing the convention and its loyal delegates. Realizing, however, after the first vote, 106 for the candidate for temporary chairman of the regulars as against 39 for a compromise candidate, put up in order to draw votes from the regulars, that their strength was next to nothing, their time was mostly occupied in obstructing the work of the convention and reporting false stories to the capitalist press. A plan to make a sensational bolt from the convention was frustrated by the discovery that

the constitution would not allow the payment of mileage before adjournment. The majority, realizing the utter insignificance of the Brown faction, permitted its members all the time they desired to filibuster, and the convention lasted one day longer than usual because of this generosity.

As soon as the mileage had been paid, nine delegates, including the expelled H. T. Bone, met and formed the new Socialist Party of Washington. In their manifesto they appealed to all progressives of all parties to join them and they actually secured one Democrat, law partner of Doctor Brown. They abolished the class struggle for this purpose, but have since re-adopted it, presumably on the theory that there would be no sense in losing Socialists by denying the class struggle when no others could be induced to join because of such action. Thus reads the party pledge as first adopted: "I, the undersigned, recognizing that the private ownership of socially created, used and necessary capital, is responsible for the injustice in our present economic system and realizing the necessity for the producers constituting themselves into a distinct political party, opposed to all parties standing for the continuation of exploitation, declare that I have severed my relations with all such parties and hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party of Washington."

This in a way ends the story unless we should continue to enumerate all the little rascalities perpetrated by the Brown faction and give the history of the leading spirits of that faction, showing that few if any of them have clean hands. It is exceedingly difficult to refrain from this in view of the fact that the writer is in a position to produce details and considering the great amount of charges of a general nature that have been made and reiterated by these people against this office and the Executive Committee.

Before concluding, it is well to sum up: We find then, that in two years ten members have been prosecuted and expelled for deliberate violation of the National Constitution, actions forced upon the State Organization by the conditions under which we are recognized by the National Organization. That because of the refusal of the locals to which these ten members belonged to carry out the party mandate, it became necessary for the State Committee to dissolve these locals. That this State Committee is the most representative committee in America, since it consists of one member from each local which takes interest enough in party affairs to elect one. That the charters were revoked by overwhelming majorities, ranging from four to one up to nearly twelve to one. That the door of the party stands wide open and has, since July of 1913, stood wide

open for all former members except those who were the cause of the expulsion of their respective locals. That those violators of the National Constitution may apply to the state covention for admission to the party. That in the referendum of a year ago, proposing the recall of the State Executive Committee, the vote stood 1155 against the recall and 345 for the recall, thus showing the real sentiment of the rank and file. That the rival party, therefore, is a minority that declines to obey majority rule. That the majority has at all times acted with careful observance of the state and national constitutions and with the greatest amount of leniency and patience compatible with these constitutions. That this is not a fight on the present State Executive Committee or the present State Secretary but upon the red card party as an institution. That the split, therefore, was not only inevitable but also necessary.

No one realizes this better than the leaders of the Brown faction. There is among them today a sentiment coming to the front to forget the reasons for the split and lay a new basis for the continuance of the secession. This is that the voters are the party and that the red card membership is a machine. That direct legislation should be applied in the party to show that we mean what we preach, and that the state organization is no more guilty therefore of oppression than the national organization. As an instance of this sentiment, to which the membership of this new party is being educated and which when thoroughly assimilated will render them entirely unfit for membership in our organization, the following is quoted from a resolution passed unanimously by Local Bellingham North, one of the largest in the Brown party, and the local of Lux, one of the members of their executive board. Listen: "Resolution No. 2—The National Committee cannot consistently recognize our faction until we have a majority in the state. Under the national constitution the BOSTROM FACTION IS STRICTLY REGULAR, LEGAL AND CONSISTENT. And

"Resolution No. 6—Our organization is pure democracy while THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION IS REPUBLICAN IN SUBSTANCE, because it is governed by committees. By becoming a part of a REPRESENTATIVE party we subject ourselves to all the insidious obstacles to the rapid and unhindered unfoldment of our principles." And again,

"What motive is there left to maintain a party and pay dues if such dues only furnish meal tickets or railroad fares to RAG CHEWING COMMITTEES?" "With the result of the late elections indicating plainly THAT THE APRON STRINGS WHICH TIE US TO NATIONAL PARTIES ARE NOT ESSENTIAL, WITH THE PRIMARY LAW SETTING

ALL CANDIDATES FREE FROM THE PARTY LEASH,
WHAT MOTIVE WILL THERE BE FOR OUR MEMBERSHIP TO AFFILIATE AND PAY DUES?"

To which Local South Bellingham, an advocate of trying to get recognition from the National Office, replies: "The remarks of Local Bellingham North, HOWEVER GOOD, ARE OUT OF SEASON. The question of direct government has not been presented to the National, nor has the NATIONAL sent speakers out to destroy it as the old state organization did. We must use THE MEANS THAT WILL HASTEN OUR DEVELOPMENT IN THIS STATE. We are satisfied that recognition would hasten OUR development more in one year than five years' work without recognition. Give evolution a chance to work with the material we have to hand."

In other words this last local agrees with the first one in that the National organization is useless, but it will serve them just now in order to down the regular organization in the state, to receive the recognition of the National. The state organization of Washington being destroyed the next move would be the destruction of the National. There is the whole thing in a nutshell. What they want is no party to keep them straight, no constitution, no supervision over the politician who aspires to an office. The blanket ballot in the primary election is a plank of their platform. Abolish the red card party and let the demagogues have free play, in fleecing the mutts. When the election comes around have a mass meeting at which the best orator gets the best nomination. The scramble for office then begins. This is to their view "political action," and anyone who wants a little system about it is a direct actionist, boss, czar, anarchist, etc. I am not saying this in sarcasm. I was a member of Bellingham locals for nearly nine years and know from close personal and INTIMATE conversation with the leaders that such are their views. Liberty before anything is their slogan. There is no chance for Socialism in that individualistic soil. The leading members of Seattle are of the same calibre. A favorite maxim of Brown and Gilbert is that we have outgrown our swaddling clothes and should abandon child's play and act like the other fullgrown parties. The primary law has been their savior from the bondage of the red card machine.

This is the situation clearly stated: With two Socialist parties in the field, both become mere machines, fighting for supremacy in the party, which will consist of the voters. Both machines will of necessity have to appeal to the voters for support for their respective candidates. Either one of the two that fails to capture the majority of the State Committee will lose the right to the name of the Socialist Party of Washington. Whether the machine which captures

the state organization will have the power to recognize its own members in a county where they are in the minority is a question that will probably some day have to be threshed out in the courts. In this fight the Brown machine will have the advantage of the regulars, in this, that it stands nearer to the new convert, exacting no discipline, asking no questions and teaching no class struggle or other bothersome things that usually confound the new-baked Socialists. It will have the unanimous support of all would-be politicians. It will be handicapped by the fact that most of these fellows get tired after the election is over, and the keeping alive of the machine between the elections will be no easy task. The regular red card organization will not grow fast but will never lose members to the more frivolous enemy while it unquestionably will slowly but surely gain every sensible and sincere member from the enemy as soon as such member discovers the lay of the land. There seems to be no escape from this deplorable situation especially since the National Office and some of the members of the Executive Committee in their ignorance of the real state of affairs, seem to secretly favor the enemy of the party.

What the outcome will be depends upon the Socialist membership. Neither Brown nor Berger can settle the destiny of the Socialist Party of Washington. In the more than four years that the writer has been the State Secretary of this party he has probably corresponded with at least one thousand members. Out of them he feels sure to have found hundreds who love this cause above anything else, men and women who, next to satisfying the bare necessities of life, have no plans and no longings for anything but Socialism. Comrades, to whom life would be uneodurable except for the ray of hope that comes from the belief in ultimate emancipation. It is upon them the fate of this organization rests. It is to them and for them that this history is written. It is to them the writer appeals. Listen, Comrades! No man can survive without a goal, a star to follow, a hope to cherish. No one amounts to much who has more than one. Single mindedness alone conquers. Some find satisfaction in fraternities, or lodges, or unions; others place their hopes on religion. But whatever it be, no one can love more than one thing above anything else. And what Socialists love above everything is Socialism, working class emancipation from physical, mental and spiritual slavery, revolution, the cause. No one is much of a Socialist who amounts to much in any other cause. Watch the one who does. Keep track of the doings in this organization and support them that deserve it, that blackmailing professionals do not get the upper hand. We are to become very powerful in the near future. When

that day comes remember the traitors that you may not be betrayed a second time by the same individual and do not forget those who were always true. Do not be afraid to tackle things yourself. The difference in knowledge (of the kind that will count in this work) between the worker with a fair school education and the average preacher or lawyer is not very great. It consists mostly in nerve. The work must be done principally by you and me, the common herd. It's the ignorance of our class that will have to be driven out with its prejudices and superstitions; it is the frivolous irresponsibility of our class which clings to us from the days of chattel slavery that will have to be superceded by the earnestness and seriousness of the thoughtful citizen. The need of a master to carry our responsibility for us, to tell us what to do and incidentally to get the better of us, will have to be done away with. The revolution cannot be accomplished by ignorant slaves led by revivalists and shysters. Do not misunderstand. No one will expect you to know your Marx by heart. That is not knowledge. The knowledge that we need more than any other is that the world is ours when we chose to take it and that in the meantime we have nothing to lose but our chains. This is the sum total of Marxism, and it carries in it the suggestion to learn anything and everything that will make us efficient fighters for our freedom, including ability and ambition to take good care of our organization. Do not let the other fellow think for you. Do not consider anything or anybody so sacred that you dare not investigate. Credulity is stupid and faith is a vice. Do not believe that froth at the mouth is an unfailing sign of sincerity. Many speakers get intoxicated by their own oratory and their sincerity evaporates with their spree. To be a revolutionist does not mean to talk irresponsibly about sabotage like a Haywood or guns like Berger. Nor does it consist in waving red flags or singing emotional songs. To be a revolutionist is to recognize the fact that the fate of our class rests in our own hands, that we as a class must have possession of the powers of the government before we can expect any measures to be passed for our benefit. In gaining these powers we will acquire the understanding of their use, for it will require at least as much intelligence to conquer as to use them. Hatred is a word that has no place in the dictionary of the revolutionist. We do not hate the capitalist class, nor the system. Each had a mission to fulfill in the development of man from the cave to the civilization we expect to enjoy in the co-operative commonwealth. We believe that that mission is accomplished and we are organized to prevent the tottering structure from occupying useful space one minute longer than necessary. What stands in the way

for our organization must therefore be swept away. Discard no one because he is green or ignorant. He can improve. But beware of demagogues, waste no time trying to rejuvenate what is decayed. And let this sink in and never leave our minds—that THE TORCH OF LIBERTY MUST BE FED WITH INTELLIGENCE, VIGILANCE AND SINCERITY AND THAT NEITHER HYSTERICAL SPEECHES NOR RED FLAGS WILL FAN IT INTO FLAME WHERE THESE INGREDIENTS ARE LACKING.

Yours for working class supremacy in a speedy revolution.

FRANS BGSTROM,

State Secretary, Socialist Party of Washington.

Addendum: Since above was written the State Secretary has received a notice from the National Executive Committee to show cause why the seceding faction should not be recognized as the regular organization of the state. The State Executive Committee replied with an appeal to the National Committee for protection from the injustice of the National Executive Committee, asking for a sub-committee to investigate affairs. The National Committee has now elected such a committee, consisting of Richardson of California, Motley of Idaho and Ramp of Oregon, and this committee is called to meet at Seattle on April the 15th. The National Committee also ordered the money received by the National Secretary from the seceders, returned. Goebel, of the N. E. C., contends that the money has never been received, but "only HELD," until a decision could be rendered in the controversy. Since no member of the party has ever made any complaint, and no charges have ever been presented to this office and since under the constitution the National Committee had no right to question our standing or interfere unless requested by the regular organization, there is officially "no controversy," and Goebel's excuse stands out as pure hypocrisy and insincerity. The only possible explanation of the conduct of the N. E. C. is a desire to favor the seceders to the utmost in order to give them a semblance of standing in the party, to which they are not entitled any more than the Socialist Labor Party or the Bull Moose Party.

Chas. Wallsce, of the seceding faction, has written his reasons for recognition to the National Office, and they are, that in view of the fact that the International recognized two parties in the United States, the Socialist Party should recognize two parties in Washington. When it came to the division of the child between two women who both claimed to be its mother, King Solomon found in favor of the woman who was willing to give up rather than kill her offspring. Let us believe that the National Committee has as much sense as the wise old King.